

THE IRISH QUESTION.

BY JUSTIN McCARTHY, M. P.

V.

INDUSTRIAL PROSTRATION.

To the Editor of *The Tribune*.
Sir: I should like to say something about the Industrial Prostration of Ireland, its causes and its consequences, and the way in which it ought to be dealt with. I used not occupy any space in an attempt to prove that industry is prostrate in Ireland; That I suppose will be taken for granted. Scepticism itself would not dispute such an assertion. We have lately been striving to put a little new life into Irish manufacturing industry, and the National League has identified itself with every effort made to promote the growth of a demand for home-made goods. There have been an exhibition in Dublin and an exhibition in Cork during the last two years, and the display of home-made articles of all kinds was sufficient both in quality and in quantity to show that the industrial Irishman has energy, skill and taste. But the competition with England and other countries is a formidable one at present for the poor Irishman, and it is hard to expect that any movement which strives to assist him by a mere appeal to the patriotic feelings of the purchasing community generally can have enough of sustained and enduring effect to enable him to make head against such rivalry.

It is certain that the prostration of Irish industry is due mainly if not entirely to Ireland's connection with England. It is an old story that tale of England's successive and far too successful attempts to extinguish any industrial strength that Ireland may have had. In Charles the First's time Strafford did his best to crush the Irish woollen manufacturers in order that English clothiers might have the advantage. Under Charles the Second the importation of Irish cattle or sheep into England was prohibited. In 1663 the carrying trade in Irish-built ships with any part of the King's dominions was prevented. In 1696, under William the Third, all direct trade from Ireland to the British colonies was forbidden, and the revival of the woollen trade was extinguished by an Act of Parliament specially and avowedly passed for that purpose. The principle underlying all this legislation was that Ireland only existed for the benefit, or what was supposed to be the benefit, of England. Ireland was therefore to be shut out from all the foreign and colonial markets of the world. She was to be shut out even from the English market if her appearance there would in any way injure or interfere with the interests of English manufacturers. Just now the world is apt to regard Ireland as a country generally in favor of protection to native industry. But in the theories of English political economists of the pedantic order—I am not now speaking of such a man as John Stuart Mill—are open to the same fundamental objection as that which the father of the sick, or supposed sick, girl in Moliere's comedy raises with regard to the advice of his friend the jeweller: "Vous êtes orfèvre, Monsieur Jossé! You are a jeweller, M. Jossé—and although I do not say that that is your only reason for recommending me to enliven my daughter with liberal presents of jewelry, still the thought naturally gives one pause and sets him considering. In the same way we Irishmen find that England's own direct interests color very significantly her economic and political theories. Whatever would be for the advancement of a great manufacturing country with but limited corn-growing capacities would seem somehow to be sanctioned and ordained by the rules of political economy. Now we want to find out, if we can, whether there is nothing in political economy which provides at all for the interests of an agricultural country with capacity only for small industries and modest trade. We can hardly believe but that political economy must have something to say about the interests of such a country and that it must be something rather different from what political economy says about the interests of the other country. That is a question on which we should like to have positive information; and so obtain the information we should even be willing to make experiment. What we cannot believe is that political economy was only made for England and only to be interpreted through England.

Mr. Gladstone is of course a great political economist, but he is not a *distributive* economist and he does more than almost any other man to make Ireland distrustful of English distributive economists of political economy. His most successful attempts at legislation for Ireland have been, as I have already shown in defiance of some of the dearest faiths of the doctrinaire economist. When he was introducing his Land Bill of 1881 he used certain words to which I have already alluded strongly condemning the policy of certain economists who were for applying "in all their might" to the cause of forcing Ireland to forsake the principles of abstract political economy to the condition of Ireland "exactly as if they had been proposed, so far as present to become the basis of his bill." Professor Sir George G. Trevelyan, a graduate of the University, has accepted the position of chief of Mr. Gladstone's "advisors" on the Free Trade question. Mr. Gladstone, however, is not a *free-trader*, but he is a *protectionist*. In Henry the Eighth's time Ireland, although devoutly Catholic, was not willing to bend to the political authority of the Papacy. It suited the interests of English sovereigns that Ireland should thus bend, and they compelled her to do so by the most stringent measures of coercion. Hardly had Ireland been brought to submission when it suited the inclination of Henry the Eighth to break loose from the authority of the Pope. A new course of persecution set in for the purpose of forcing Ireland to forsake the principles of abstract political economy to the condition of Ireland "exactly as if they had been proposed, so far as present to become the basis of his bill." Of course if the principles were right, were immutable, and were universal, they ought to be applied to our next-door neighbor, as to our next-door neighbor, as nearly as it was dealing with the inhabitants of Saturn or Jupiter. But then there is the difficulty: we do not believe they are. We have ascertained them, we do not feel assured that he has got hold of the true principles at all. That is the position which Ireland occupies with regard to free trade and English economic generally. I believe that you cannot easily on economic legislation for human beings near at hand as if you were treating of the interests of the inhabitants of Saturn or Jupiter. No doctrine can be sounder than that which teaches that a certain amount of walking every day is good for men and women; but it is not the less true that the principle will not apply to the very young or to the very old, to the weak or to those who from one cause or another have been temporarily crippled or lame. Now the industrial energies of Ireland have been crippled and lame for many generations. It is utter absurdity to assume that the course of training which is now applicable to England must necessarily be applicable to Ireland also. I heard Mr. Parnell say, as convinced a free trader as any man living, admit that if the effect of the corn laws had not been actually to interfere with the necessary supply of food for the people at a time of famine it would have been hard work to persuade Englishmen to abandon the principle of protection. It can hardly be denied that Ireland suffered in her immediate interests from the sudden introduction of the free trade principle. She had long been suffering from the very practical application and extension of the supposed economic doctrine that pasturage and not tillage is best suited to her climate and her conditions. Swift denounced this theory with all the force of his grim bewilderment. "Ays was made," he says, "when he mistake a flock of sheep for his sheep, and he would never be sorer until we have the same way of thinking." Keen that your strength is in the plough and not in the depopulated pasture lands." In another passage he says: "These who in doubt are men are the slaves of a master, but this is a maxim controlled by Ireland. What we want is depopulation. Make Ireland a desert and all will be well. Have a grazier and his family for every two thousand acres and then we shall be as England wishes us to be." English theorists have been going on in just the same way since the days of Swift. Ireland has been sacrificed from generation to generation at the altar of the favorite economic theory. England finds it convenient to get a quantity of cattle and sheep from Ireland and at the same time finds it inconvenient for the evils under which Ireland suffers. To those remedial notions the Irish people and their representatives are absolutely opposed. What we should like to see in Ireland would be a thorough system of peasant proprietorship, adjusted by a proper migration, not emigration; a transplanting gradually and hence and there of the population of poor and barren regions to good and productive soil now wasted on cattle growing. We should like to see a reversal of all the small and now almost extinguished industries which at one time even the poorest country towns active and prosperous. We should like to see the max trade flourishing here, the English philanthropic mind as well, the only remedies for the evils under which Ireland suffers.

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Justin McCarthy,
No. 15 Ebury St., London, Aug. 13, 1884.

MURDERED AND SET ON FIRE.

AUGUSTA, Ga., Sept. 12.—William Vales, an old man employed as night watchman in the office of the Augusta and Southern Western Railway Company, in this city, was found dead in the office of his house. There was a fearful contusion of the back of his head, and his body had been burned to a cinder. Close to the body were found a pistol and an oil-can, the former evidently having been used to commit the murder, and the contents of the latter to burn the evidence of the crime. The body had been saturated with oil, and then set on fire. The fire had been burned in hole beneath the sofa, but the sofa of board which saturated the room, and the gas pipe had prevented the burning from catching fire. A desk in the office had been piled up and \$400 stolen. Vales is supposed to have been making a tour of the premises, and probably was about to wind the money when the last portion in the dial had been turned when the alarm was committed.

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BUFFALO.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY—CROWDED SCHOOLS—THEATRICAL—A WEDDING.

BUFFALO, Sept. 12.—There is no abatement in the activity of the local Republican campaign, and street meetings are being held for the mass meeting to be held at McDaniel's premises, 22 West General Stewart St., Woodstock and others are to speak. The Pro-Suffragists are holding weekly meetings, and have no local opponents. The Free Soil party is holding its annual meeting at the Hotel New York, and the Anti-Suffragists are holding their annual meeting at the Hotel Metropole.

Robert E. Grimes is playing an engagement here in "Wanted, a Partner." He is suffering from a severe cold.

BUZZARD, THE OUTLAW, WOUNDED.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12.—A dispatch from Reading, Penn., says: A report has reached here that Constable J. M. Newman, of near White Horse, Lancaster County, has run into the Woods near the Chester County line, and was in the act of cutting poles, when he saw the notorious Buzzard. He concealed himself until Buzzard came, and then sprang upon him. A terrible struggle ensued between the two, when the outlaw was shot, but Buzzard escaped, however, was reported to the lumberman, who evidently was some one close to the murderer, who evidently was some one who had got nothing but harm from the sudden introduction of free trade, and certainly if she had it in her power to make an experiment in some other way she would not be deterred by any religious devotion to the free trader's creed. More than that, we in Ireland are beginning to be very distrustful of the economic doctrines preached to us so confidently by English politicians. We cannot help seeing that everything which has turned out to be for our good has been done in defiance of some one or other of these theories. All the recent land legislation for Ireland has been made in the teeth of

some of the doctrines which English political economists once most dearly treasured. What Lord Sherbrooke, then Mr. Robert Lowe, called "the sacro-sanctity" of the landlord's property in land has been divested by law of all its sanctity, and it has been ruled that a population must be saved even though a few landlords should have their rents reduced. Freedom of contract—between a landlord who has all in his power and a tenant who is wholly at his mercy—has been pronounced a fraud. Lord Palmerston proclaimed amid the cheers of a house more than half full of landlords that "tenant right is landlord's wrong"; the law now establishes, sanctions and secures tenant right. We have been learning a good deal from all this in Ireland. Of course we know that there are and must be economic laws which can no more be violated with impunity than the laws of health. But we do not admit that the English political economists' exposition of these laws is necessarily correct. We see that in some cases his theory works out very badly in practice; we see that in other cases he is setting up a new theory to day in the place of an old theory which he gave to yesterday. One is not questioning the existence of the laws of health if he refuses to believe that a physician whose patients are dying all around him has exactly got hold of the proper application of them; or if he declines to accept as gospel a theory propounded to him to-day by a physician who was equally confident about a totally different theory yesterday.

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stated 100 days.

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Low Morris Post of the Grand Army of the Republic held a court martial of S. C. Hunt, whose recent letter charging that the Grand Army was used for political purposes and himself declared for Cleaveland, was given wide circulation in Democratic newspapers.

Dr. Lawson Tait, M. P., the English surgeon, has been the guest of Dr. Vandermeer during the week. Dr. Vandermeer gave a reception in his honor. Dr. Boyd, much, and the Rev. Dr. Davis a dinner at which Governor Cleveland was a guest. Mrs. Dr. Sin. Showed a picture of Mrs. Tait's baby. During his visit to the Far East he performed several operations at the city and S. Peter's Hospital, Macao, government, as well as the left eye of a woman who was equally confident about a totally different theory yesterday.

The Rev. Dr. O'Farrell, pastor of St. Mary's Church, publishes a letter in which he opposes the division of the diocese of Albany. Says the reverend doctor: "Our diocese is becoming a fraud and a delusion. It is easy to believe that a physician whose patients are dying all around him has exactly got hold of the proper application of them; or if he declines to accept as gospel a theory propounded to him to-day by a physician who was equally confident about a totally different theory yesterday.

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